HATE!

-Top Secret

POLAND: Stance Toward Opposition

Premier Jaruzelski yesterday chaired a meeting of the Military Council of National Salvation to begin reestablishing normal relations with various social groups, but he reportedly believes that Solidarity cannot be allowed to reemerge. At the same time, a Solidarity provincial leader has retracted his support for martial law, and a university professor expects a purge of faculty members who had been close to Solidarity.

The Military Council session was attended by workers, party officials, members of Solidarity, and the other unions. The Council "informed" those present about current conditions, but no details were released about the ensuing discussion.

According to a member of the Polish party Politburo, Jaruzelski hopes eventually to win credibility through economic progress but currently lacks the means and must ensure that opposition to his regime will not reappear in the meantime. The party official said that a "program of peace" has been prepared and will be presented to the parliament by Jaruzelski next Tuesday. He played down the role of the party stating that the program was developed by the government.

Comment: The Council meeting was the government's first attempt to convey the impression that it is seeking to reestablish normal relations with various groups. The Council probably dominated the discussion, and the Solidarity members present apparently were low-level officials.

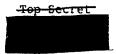
The remarks by the Politburo member suggest that Jaruzelski's program will not go far toward meeting Western demands that detainees be released, that martial law be ended, and that a dialogue be renewed with the Church and Solidarity. Instead, the program probably will underscore the government's need to retain strong controls and its willingness to back its policies with

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force. The martial law authorities seem to believe, unrealistically, they can use coercion to restore the Polish economy.

Support for Martial Law Retracted

The Solidarity leader in Poznan, Zdzislaw Rozwalak, has retracted an earlier statement supporting martial law saying it was made under duress. Rozwalak spoke to a group of foreign correspondents who were visiting Poznan's largest factory as part of the first organized trip for the press outside Warsaw since the imposition of martial law. The factory workers told the reporters that they still supported Solidarity leader Walesa and the union.

Comment: Rozwalak's retraction will reach the populace by way of Western broadcasts and will make it more difficult for the government to gain support from other local Solidarity leaders. The incident also will discredit government efforts to demonstrate that it is talking with Solidarity "activists," and Warsaw may decide to halt such trips.

The willingness of workers to state their support publicly for Solidarity, despite possible sanctions, is evidence of the union's strength, and probably is why martial law authorities have not moved quickly to release the more than 5,000 union activists being held under detention.

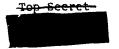
Purge of Intellectuals

A faculty member of the Jacellonian University in Krakow that he expects up to 30 percent of the university faculty to be fired because of their close links with Solidarity. Contacts confirm that the liberal rector of Warsaw University has been expelled from the party and speculate that he and other senior members of the staff will soon lose their jobs. These sources believe that such a move is intended as a provocation to allow the authorities to crack down on the university and thereby intimidate students throughout the country.

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Comment: A purge in the universities would set back Jaruzelski's efforts to win the support of intellectuals, or at least to neutralize them. He met with a group of intellectuals before Christmas to demonstrate his willingness to listen to their advice. A purge would reinforce doubts that the regime is serious about continuing reforms.

Jaruzelski may not have been personally involved in taking the initiative on arrests and dismissals. Although the Military Council reportedly sets out basic guidelines and makes major decisions, other actions may originate with lower level officials.

